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ABSTRACT

This paper reports the results of a literature review on the subject of beginning teacher induction, presenting a conceptually oriented discussion of the induction literature. It examines the multiple meanings associated with induction as a phase in learning to teach, a process of teacher socialization, and a program for beginning teachers. The paper begins by underscoring the special character of the first encounter with real teaching and highlights the pivotal position of the induction phase in a broader continuum of teacher preparation and development. The report goes on to discuss induction as a process of teacher socialization and of initiating teachers into their new role. It also examines beginning teacher induction as a process of situated learning. The paper explains induction as a formal program for beginning teachers, offering a brief history of the process; defining induction programs; noting characteristics of quality programs (e.g., a developmental stance toward beginning teachers, a supportive context, and mentoring); and describing programmatic dilemmas or tensions (e.g., individualistic versus collective orientations and retention versus quality). (Contains 97 references.) (SM)

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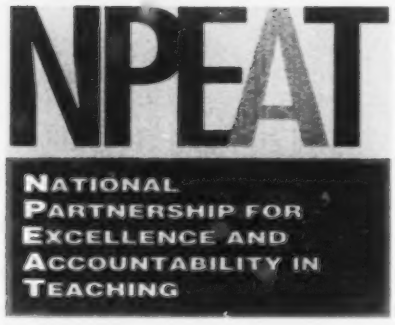

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> How we treat the least experienced among us is a reflection of how we feel about ourselves as a profession. The importance given to induction is a barometer of our professional self-esteem. (Newton et al, 1998, *Mentoring: A Resource and Training Guide*, 5-11).

Introduction

What happens to beginning teachers during their early years on the job determines not only whether they stay in teaching but also what kind of teacher they become (McDonald, 1980; Adelman, 1991). New teachers join a school faculty, start teaching, and begin learning lessons about themselves and their colleagues, the students and the curriculum, the school and community that can only be learned in the context of teaching. Unfortunately most beginning teachers have to learn these lessons on their own or with occasional help from a sympathetic colleague.[1]

The cost of widespread indifference toward teacher induction is high. Up to one-third of new teachers leave the profession within the first few years, a fact that falls heaviest on urban

[1] Currently 50% of new teachers report that they are not participating in an induction program (U.S. Dept of Education).

schools.[2] Even when new teachers remain, they may not develop the kind of teaching that fosters deep and complex learning on the part of students. The persistence of didactic approaches to teaching and facts-and-skills conceptions of knowledge underscores the power of traditional norms and practices to shape teachers' early socialization as students and their continuing socialization on the job (Edy, 1969; Lortie, 1975).

Teacher induction has recently emerged (or re-emerged) as a priority for states and districts (Fideler & Haselkorn, 1999). Standards-based reforms calling for more challenging teaching and learning, projections of teacher shortages and data about teacher attrition have contributed to a growing consensus that support and assistance are essential to the retention and effectiveness of beginning teachers. More urban districts offer some kind of support to beginning teachers, usually in the form of mentoring, and more states are mandating induction programs than ever before.

Still the overall picture is uneven. Most policy mandates do not rest on robust ideas about teacher learning and often lack the resources to create effective programs. Even when formal programs exist, they may not help beginning teachers offer more ambitious learning opportunities to students. If we want to realize the potential of induction to help improve the quality of teaching, we must recognize that new teachers are still learning to teach and provide the conditions, support and guidance to help them construct a professional, standards-based practice in the context of their teaching.

Why a Conceptually Oriented Review

This paper grew out of our effort to survey literature on and about teacher induction in order to identify issues and questions that require conceptual clarification and empirical study.

[2] High rates of teacher attrition in urban districts increase the likelihood that students will be taught by a succession of inexperienced teachers, further increasing educational inequities.

While empirical research on induction and mentoring is limited, the writing on these topics is extensive and we read much of it. We also examined areas of scholarship that bear on teacher induction such as research on teacher learning, professional development, teacher socialization, the demographics of teaching and the influence of school organization and culture on teachers' practice.

We came to see induction as a sort of Janus-figure on the educational landscape, looking backwards toward preservice education and forward toward inservice education.[3] Because of its pivotal position between initial preparation and continuing professional development, teacher induction is a critical element in a comprehensive reform agenda that focuses on recruitment, preparation, hiring, induction, licensure, assistance, development and certification of teachers (National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, 1996). When induction is narrowly defined as short-term support to help teachers survive their first year on the job, its role in fostering quality teaching and learning is diminished.

This report summarizes what we learned from reviewing the induction literature. It is not, however, a traditional review. Since 1990, chapters have appeared in the first and second editions of the *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education* (Huling-Austin, 1990; Gold, 1996) which summarize empirical studies of induction, identify critical issues and highlight new directions for research. Nor is this a description of current induction activity. Recruiting New Teachers, a non-profit organization dedicated to addressing the shortage of qualified teachers in the U.S., recently completed a national study of urban teacher induction programs and practices and their report provides an overview of what is happening at the state and district levels (Fideler

[3] Janus is the Roman god of doorways, beginnings and endings. He is often depicted as a bearded figure with two faces looking in opposite directions.

& Haselkorn, 1999).[4] Rather this is a conceptually oriented discussion of the induction literature. We have chosen to step back from descriptions of induction activity and summaries of existing research to look critically at the way the concept of induction is understood. What does induction mean? How is the term used? What questions and issues are associated with different formulations?

Multiple Meanings

As we analyzed the discourse on beginning teacher induction, we uncovered three meanings or uses of the term. First, induction is used to label a unique phase (or stage) in teacher development. Stories by beginning teachers and studies of beginning teaching concur that the induction phase, which coincides with the first year(s) of teaching, is a time of intense learning and anxiety, different from what has gone before and what comes after. Current descriptions and conceptualizations of the induction phase tend to emphasize the self-defined problems and concerns of beginning teachers rather than the central tasks of learning teaching.

Second, induction is construed as a time of transition when teachers are moving from preparation to practice. Researchers often use the term "socialization" to describe the informal processes by which newcomers enter the field and join the ranks of teachers. Conceptualizing induction as a process of socialization focuses attention on the occupational setting and professional community which new teachers are entering, the messages they receive about what it means to be a teacher, and how these messages influence their emerging identity and practice.

Thinking about induction as a phase in teacher development and a process of teacher socialization reminds us that, for better or for worse, induction happens with or without a formal

[4] This highly informative study of urban induction programs is based on a mailed survey to school districts in the nation's largest cities and towns, 2-3 day site visits to ten "exemplary" programs, interviews with site directors and other district personnel, reviews of program evaluation studies and other documents, and phone and mail surveys of state education agencies in all fifty states.

program. Still, in contemporary discussions of educational policy and practice, induction generally means a formal program for beginning teachers. While the term "program" implies something intentional and organized, what counts as an induction program is not clear-cut. Sometimes it refers to state-wide systems of support and assessment. Sometimes it refers to a district sponsored orientation for new teachers. Often it is equated with the assignment of mentors to work with new teachers.

In this review, we examine the meanings associated with induction as a phase in learning to teach, a process of teacher socialization and a program for beginning teachers. We highlight issues and questions that bear on induction policy and practice and that call for conceptual clarification and empirical study. Besides providing direction to a national study of new teacher induction, we hope this review will stimulate thoughtful discussion about what induction is and what it could be.[5]

The Induction Phase

The notion of induction as a unique phase in the life of a teacher carries two related ideas. First, it underscores the special character of the first encounter with "real" (as opposed to student or practice) teaching. Second, it highlights the pivotal position of the induction phase in a broader continuum of teacher preparation and development. Both ideas have serious implications for induction policies and practices which U.S. educators and policy makers are only beginning to recognize.

A Distinct Phase

The early years of teaching are considered an intense and formative stage in teaching and learning to teach, as Bush (1983) explains:

> ...the conditions under which a person carries out the first years of teaching have a

> strong influence on the level of effectiveness which that teacher is able to achieve and sustain over the years; on the attitudes which govern teachers' behavior over even a forty year career; and, indeed, in the decision whether or not to continue in the teaching profession (p. 3).

McDonald (1980) echoes the same sentiment when he writes that "the development of a teacher is shaped or determined by what happens to the teacher during the transition period" (1980, p. 25). We have limited data to support claims about the relationship between the induction experience and teacher's long term development, but we do know that teachers often leave teaching because they feel overwhelmed and unsupported in their early years on the job.

The first year of teaching has a character of its own, different from what has gone before and what will come after. The nature of the experience derives from a complex interaction of personal and situational factors (Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985; Feiman-Nemser & Buchmann, 1987). Still common elements make the first year(s) of teaching a time of survival and discovery when the learning curve is steep and emotions run high (Huberman, 1989).

Charged with the same responsibilities as their more experienced colleagues, beginning teachers are expected to perform and be effective. Yet most aspects of the situation are unfamiliar--the students, curriculum, community, local policies and procedures. Besides the newness of the situation, the complexities of teaching itself confront the novice with daily dilemmas and uncertainties (Ryan, 1975; Bullough, 1989). The fact that beginning teachers have limited experience and practical knowledge to draw on increases their sense of frustration and inadequacy. This is the paradoxical situation of all beginning professionals--they must demonstrate skills and abilities which they do not have and can only gain by beginning to do what they do not yet understand (Schon, 1987).

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[5] This review was undertaken to provide direction for a national study of three well regarded induction programs.

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On top of this, the isolation of teachers in their own classrooms and the prevailing norms of autonomy, privacy and equality make it difficult to request and receive help. Newberry (1977) describes the problem in this way: "...organizational arrangements and the beginning teacher's own attitudes combine(d) to create the myth of the instantaneously competent teacher who needs minimal help in developing an effective teaching program" (p. 11). Given the realities and expectations that confront new teachers, it is not surprising that many feel "demoralized and dispirited, anxious about their efficacy and their capacity to cope with their work responsibilities" (Scott, 1995, p. 96).

Studies which focus on the needs, problems and concerns of beginning teachers shed some light on what makes the induction phase unique. An early formulation comes from Fuller (1969) whose "developmental" model of teacher concerns posits an initial stage when beginning teachers are mainly preoccupied with their own personal adequacy, a middle stage when they focus on their teaching performance and a later stage when they begin to concentrate on student learning. Fuller claims that early concerns must be resolved before later concerns can emerge (See also Fuller & Bown, 1975). A widely cited study by Veenman (1984) reviews research over a twenty-two year span to identify the problems ranked most serious and frequent by novices and principals. At the top of the list is classroom discipline along with student motivation, dealing with individual differences, assessing student work and relating to parents.

Various criticisms have been leveled against this research, including the questionable claim that attention to student learning must be postponed until novices work through other concerns (Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986) and the disregard for content and context (Grossman, 1990; Anyon, 1994). Many contemporary reforms in education rest on a view of good teaching that depends on teachers having rich and flexible subject matter understandings and a repertoire

of ways to make that knowledge accessible to students (Cohen, McLaughlin & Talbert, 1993). Novices rarely have an extensive, content-specific repertoire of teaching strategies and or local knowledge of students required for such thoughtful and powerful teaching. These are also critical foci for new teacher learning (Borko & Putnam, 1996).[6]

While studies of beginning teaching do underscore common challenges associated with the early years on the job, they legitimate a focus on self-defined problems and concerns rather than on the core tasks of learning to teach (Carter & Richardson, 1989). New teachers have two jobs to do--they have to teach and they have to learn to teach (Wildman, Niles, Magliaro & McLaughlin, 1989). Helping new teachers learn to teach (well) inevitably means helping them learn about students and context, and how to engage their students in the learning of worthwhile content.

Studies that link requests for help with types of assistance offered provide grounded but generic perspectives on the learning needs of beginning teachers. For example, Odell (1986, 1987, 1989) found that the most frequently asked questions by first year teachers and teachers new to the system centered around issues of instructional practice followed by requests for information on district policies and procedures and instructional resources. All types of support were needed during the first month of school, help with management and discipline waned but the need for instructional, emotional and resource support remained constant.

Expert/novice comparisons further reinforce the idea of induction as a distinct phase in learning to teach by uncovering qualitative differences in the thinking and performance of teachers at different stages. For instance, Berliner (1988) identifies six dimensions on which

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[6] Research on beginning teaching and the discourse of induction tend to treat teaching as a generic process and are remarkably silent about the role of subject matter knowledge in teaching and teacher learning. This silence motivated one study of interactions between mentors and novice teachers to see whether and how considerations of subject matter entered into their work (Feiman-Nemser & Parker, 1994).

novices and expert teachers differ. These include their abilities to interpret classroom phenomena, discern important events, use routines, make predictions, judge typical and atypical events, evaluate performance. Regarding the ability to use routines, he comments: "What looks to be so easy for the expert and so clumsy for the novice is the result of thousands of hours of experience and reflection" (p. 15) . Regarding the ability of experts to know what is worth attending to, he observes: "Experience seems to change people so that they literally 'see' differently" (p. 18).

Novice/expert comparisons do not reveal how novices become experts, but they do underscore the point that competence, proficiency and expertise take time to develop and do not automatically flow from experience. In Berliner's (1988) heuristic model of skill development in teaching, novices and advanced beginners achieve the stage of competence by the third or fourth year. Proficiency may come to some teachers by the fifth year of teaching, while only a few will attain the highest stage of expertise. Without denying the importance of situated and largely implicit knowledge for skillful teaching, we should remember that the same routines and ways of interpreting classroom events that produce an efficient and fluid performance can impede efforts to change one's practice (Borko & Putnam, 1996).

Providing induction support to beginning teachers is a humane response to the trials and tribulations associated with the first year of teaching. Unless we also take into account the fact that beginning teachers are *learners*, we may design programs that reduce stress and address problems and concerns without necessarily promoting teacher development. Nor can we focus on induction support without asking a more fundamental question: To what extent do the conditions and responsibilities of beginning teaching create the problems of beginning teachers? Would the emotional intensity and the learning challenges be more manageable if we

reconceptualized the work of beginning teachers in ways that took more seriously their status as novices and their needs as learning teachers? [7]

Various proposals to differentiate the scope of teachers' professional activity and responsibility based on levels of knowledge and expertise have been put forward (e.g. Holmes Group, 1986; Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, 1986). Most include recommendations about extended learning opportunities through internships and residencies before teachers become fully certified. For example, the report of the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future (1996) recommends that the first year or two of teaching be structured like a residency in medicine with teachers regularly consulting an experienced teacher about the decisions they are making and receiving ongoing advice and evaluation. Ideally this would include some adjustment in the resident teachers' work assignment and responsibilities. Taking the induction phase seriously as a formative phase in teaching and learning to teach requires both adjustments in expectations and the provision of appropriate learning opportunities.

These measures are common in some European and Asian countries where new teachers are not expected to do the same job or have the same skills as experienced teachers. Assigned to less difficult classes, new teachers get release time to participate in inservice activities, observe and be observed, consult with their guidance teacher (Moskowitz & Stevens, 1997). Visible in a handful of programs in the U.S., such policies and practices reflect a fuller appreciation of the unique learning needs associated with the induction phase of teaching.

Part of a Professional Development Continuum

The flipside of seeing induction as a unique stage in learning to teach is understanding its place in a broader continuum of teacher development. Recognizing the pivotal position of the

[7] One important way that induction could build on teachers' initial preparation is to insure them assignments that take advantage of their existing knowledge and skills. Unfortunately studies of teacher induction consistently show

induction phase encourages us to consider the relationship of induction with preservice preparation and continuing professional development if we want to promote "an orderly progression toward advanced professional status" (Griffin, 1985).

"No matter what initial preparation they receive," writes Carol Bartell (1995), a leader in California's efforts to develop new teacher programs and policies, "teachers are never fully prepared for classroom realities and for responsibilities associated with meeting the needs of a rapidly growing, increasingly diverse student population" (p. 28-29). Recognizing the inevitable limitations of preservice preparation provides one justification for induction programs, but we must still clarify what it means to help novices connect the "text" of preservice preparation to the "contexts" of contemporary classrooms (Dalton & Moir, 1996). Teachers can learn about teaching in various contexts, including the university, but they cannot learn to teach outside of practice (Feiman-Nemser & Remillard, 1995).

Reform-minded educators talk about the creating a "seamless bridge" between university preparation and school-based induction. In reality, few structural and conceptual links exist. As Howey and Zimpher (1999) put it: "Nowhere is the absence of a seamless continuum in teacher education more evident than in the early years of teaching. At the same time, no point in the continuum has more potential to bring the worlds of the schools and the academy into a true symbiotic partnership than the induction phase" (p. 297). How can induction programs help novices develop a repertoire of professional practices out of the ideas and images, skills and commitments they bring from teacher preparation? How can they help novices construct new knowledge in practice?

Besides functioning as "a logical extension of the preservice training," induction programs must also serve as "an entry piece to a larger career-long professional development

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that schools routinely assign inexperienced teachers to the most different classes.

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program for teachers" (Huling-Austin, 1990, p. 545). Seeing the induction phase as part of a professional development continuum emphasizes the necessary connections with inservice education. Unfortunately most induction programs, like most inservice prorgrams, operate as discrete, isolated entities. By conceptualizing induction as a form of professional development, we are moved to consider how emerging principles of effective professional development apply to learning opportunities for new teachers.

Guided by a reform agenda that requires teachers to produce more ambitious learning for all students, researchers have characterized the kind of professional development teachers need to meet this challenge (Hawley & Vali, 1999). Instead of one-shot workshops and short-term training focused on generic teaching strategies, they argue, teachers need learning opportunities that are connected to their daily work with students, related to the teaching and learning of subject matter, organized around real problems of practice, sustained over time by conversation and coaching (Little, 1993; Darling-Hammond & McLaughlin, 1996). Such opportunities would take place in school as part of the ongoing work of teaching as well as out of school in study groups, networks, and other organizational arrangements that connect teachers to a wider discourse beyond their local circle of colleagues (Lieberman, 1996; Lord, 1994). This kind of professional development requires major changes in the organization of schools and the culture of teaching. It also depends on teachers cultivating an open and critical stance toward their work and learning to talk about teaching and learning in analytic ways (Dewey, 1904; Lord, 1994; Ball & Cohen, 1999).[5]

How do these ideas about effective professional development fit with prevailing views about beginning teacher induction? Some educators and researchers maintain that beginning

teachers need individualized assistance (Fuller, 1969; Brooks, 1987), emotional support (Gold, 1996), help in developing routines and procedures (Berliner, 1986). Others assert that novices learn best in communities of practice where they can work with experienced teachers and other educators on the messy and uncertain business of reforming teaching (Darling-Hammond, 1997; Cochran-Smith, 1991).

These alternative views reflect contrasting images of teacher learning. On the one hand, we have the image of teachers as independent artisans constructing their professional identity and craft according to their own interests, preferences and capabilities (Huberman, 1995). The provision of a mentor teacher will not automatically challenge this self-directed, idiosyncratic process if both mentor and novice regard teaching as a highly personal activity in which each teacher must figure out "what works" for him/herself. On the other hand, we have the image of teachers as members of a community of practice, taking shared responsibility for student progress, developing common standards, improving their practice through ongoing observation, conversation and joint problem solving. Mentors who encourage collaboration and inquiry and who engage in co-planning and co-teaching give new teachers a different message about what it means to be a learning teacher (Feiman-Nemser & Parker, 1993). The existence of these two images and the dominance of the first over the second reminds us that the organization and culture of schools play a prominent role in the induction process (Smylie, 1995).

Induction as a Process of Socialization

Besides signifying a special time in the life and learning of a teacher, induction refers to a process of initiating teachers into their new role. This meaning is central to the purpose of

[8] While there seems to be a consensus about the need for a paradigm shift in professional development, we still know little about what teachers actually learn from participating in these new forms of professional development

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induction which, according to Schlecty (1984), should "develop in new members of an occupation those skills, forms of knowledge, attitudes and values that are necessary to effectively carry out their occupational role." For Schlechty, the aim of induction is "to create conditions that cause new members to internalize the norms of the occupation to the point that the primary means of social control (e.g. control over performance) is self control (p. 1). How does this process work in an occupation like teaching which does not yet have a set of shared standards and norms?

We know from research on teacher socialization that the process of becoming a teacher rarely involves the kind of dramatic conversion or transformation of perspectives associated with other professions (Becker, Geer, Reisman & Weiss, 1968; Lortie, 1975; Zeichner & Gore, 1990). The many hours of teacher watching as an elementary and secondary student unconsciously shape prospective teachers' beliefs about teaching, learning, students and subject matter, and these beliefs determine how they experience teacher education and teaching. Teacher education is generally regarded as a weak intervention compared with these early influences and the impact of teaching itself, both of which tend to reinforce traditional (didactic) approaches to instruction.

During teacher preparation, prospective teachers firm up values and beliefs that will guide them as teachers. As prospective teachers move toward the end of their professional studies and anticipate their entry into full-time teaching, they take their cues from the field, observing what teaching requires and taking on the mantle of the teachers observed. Internalizing what it means to be a teacher generally involves absorbing "what works" with a classroom of children or youth, being "able to do it" like one's cooperating teacher or mentor. This reinforces an operational rather than an intellectual orientation toward teaching, a concern for how to do it rather than why teach in a given way (Goodlad, 1990).

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and how their learning, in turn, affects their students' learning.

Discussing traditional and contemporary views of induction, Lawson (1992) points out that, in the literature on professions, induction traditionally refers to the influence exerted by systems of recruitment, professional education and work initiation on recruits as they move along the path toward full membership in a professional community. Through a process of learning and interaction called "professional socialization," recruits are "induced" to take on the dominant language, values, norms, mission, knowledge, ideology and technology of their field. Rejecting the passivity of the recruit implied by this formulation, Lawson embraces a dynamic conception of teacher induction as "the continuous development and expression of professional norms, identities and forms of competence" (p. 170). He contrasts this with the "new" and much narrower definition of induction as "entry into school as a beginning teacher" (p. 163).

Because the transition from teacher preparation to teaching is abrupt and lonely, not gradual and supported, some advocates of induction regard eased and assisted entry into teaching as an end in itself rather than a means to the end of improved teaching and learning. This underscores the point that the way induction is conceptualized has consequences for the way induction programs and policies are framed. If we think of induction as a process of professional socialization, we are more likely to see the need for shared standards, school-university partnerships and graduated responsibilities for new teachers. If we think of induction as a process of "learning the ropes" and fitting in, we are more likely to think in terms of an orientation to the school and district and short-term support to help new teachers manage their first year on the job.

Ideally the process of induction operates on both levels--the profession and the work setting. When they come together, novices are inducted into a community of practice where teachers, working together, clarify the meaning of standards and their implications for improved teaching and learning in day-to-day interactions with students and colleagues. Too often, it

seems, the goals of inducting novices into professional standards and incorporating them into a community of practice take a backseat to the goal of easing their entry into teaching.

Contemporary proposals for the reform of teacher education call for extended field experiences in professional development schools or internship sites where teacher candidates learn to "teach against the grain" (Cochran-Smith, 1994) in the company of thoughtful, reform-minded mentors. Though far from commonplace, these opportunities launch a different kind of induction process as novices learn firsthand about both the realities and the improvement of teaching and schooling. Sustaining and building on this process during the early years of teaching represents a challenge to schools and universities who rarely collaborate on new teacher induction (Huling-Austin, 1990).[9]

A transformative induction process would also be anchored in a set of professional standards which define desired outcomes for initial preparation and new teacher induction and provide a basis for designing and assessing professional learning opportunities. In an occupation like teaching where "self-socialization" (Lortie, 1975) is the norm, professional standards give meaning to the process of "professional socialization" and provide a necessary basis for professional learning and accountability. The National Commission on Teaching and America's Future (1963) calls standards "the linchpin" for transforming current systems of teacher preparation, licensing, ongoing development and certification.

Standards like those developed by the Interstate New Teacher Support and Assessment Consortium (INTASC), a consortium of more than thirty states and professional organizations, outline the knowledge, performances and dispositions that new teachers need to teach in ways

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[9] While many call for universities to play a larger role in new teacher induction, the incentives for faculty to do so are generally not in place unless this occurs through professional development schools. Since induction occurs in schools, districts and school personnel assume that this is their jurisdiction and responsibility. But without collaboration we will not be able to connect the curriculum of teacher preparation with the curriculum of induction.

that support ambitious learning for all students (INTASC, 1992). By detailing attributes of effective teaching, they offer powerful goals for professional education and socialization, and orient induction support and guidance around a vision of professional practice. While states like California and Connecticut have adopted their own teaching standards, we know little about how these standards actually influence induction practices and how they affect novices' teaching and their students' learning. These are important areas for research.

The induction literature reflects a strong emphasis on what Griffin (1989) calls the "adjustment phenomenon." Induction is often portrayed as a bridging process designed to help novices move into a new role and setting. Sometimes this is framed as a transition from "student of teaching to teacher of students" (Moskowitz & Stevens, 1997, p. 178).[10] If the induction process only helps novices fit into schools as they are, then it will serve as a force for continuity rather than change, a way of maintaining the status quo rather than a means of changing it.

Induction as a Process of Situated Learning

We have already argued that the induction phase is a critical time for learning teaching. Teachers can acquire knowledge of subject matter, students, learning, curriculum, pedagogy in a variety of settings, including university-based teacher preparation, but using such knowledge in teaching requires information and understandings that cannot be learned in advance or acquired outside of teaching. Teachers teach particular subjects to particular students in particular contexts. Consequently some of the most important knowledge they need is local.

The beginning years of teaching offer a natural opportunity to situate novices' learning in the central tasks of teaching (planning, enacting, assessing, reflecting). Unfortunately, the induction literature rarely asks what kind of teaching new teachers should be learning and how

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they can best be helped to learn that (Borko & Putnam, 1996; Feiman-Nemser & Remillard, 1995; Ball & Cohen, 1999). Making beginning teaching a focus of inquiry and learning is especially critical if we want new teachers to practice the kind of ambitious teaching advocated by reformers.

Current instructional reforms call for classrooms where teachers and students develop knowledge together, where facts are challenged in discourse, where conceptual understanding of subject matter is fostered (Cohen, McLaughlin & Talbert, 1993). Such teaching places new demands on teachers to know their subjects deeply and represent them in authentic ways, to understand how their students think about subject matter and be able to promote critical thinking and active learning. Such teaching invites teachers to take on new roles--designing authentic tasks, orchestrating classroom discourse, managing new student roles.

One hallmark of this kind of teaching is its responsiveness to student thinking. To teach in ways that support and extend student thinking, teachers must be able to elicit and interpret students' ideas and generate appropriate pedagogical moves as the lesson unfolds (Lampert, 1985; Heaton & Lampert, 1990; Ball & Wilson, 1996). The need to attend to what students say and construct appropriate responses on a moment-to-moment basis rather than following a prepared lesson plan places special demands on teachers. It also highlights challenging aspects of teaching which must ultimately be learned in practice—learning to size up teaching situations, investigate what students are thinking, and use the information gathered to inform and improve practice.

Because the early years of teaching have not been taken seriously as a time for teacher learning, we do not have well-developed ideas about how to use the practice of beginning

[10] Because the induction literature talks about teaching and learning in generic terms, induction is rarely framed as a transition from "student of subject matter to teacher of subject matter" (Shulman, 1987). Nor is it cast as an

teaching as a site for professional learning. Still, some thoughtful mentors have been doing just that. By studying their interactions with new teachers, we can gain insights into how new teacher learning can be situated in the contexts of teaching and in the company of experienced teachers who see themselves as teachers of teaching (not only "support providers").

In one cross-cultural study of mentoring sponsored by the National Center for Research on Teacher Learning at Michigan State University, researchers found that the most thoughtful mentors had a vision of good teaching and clear ideas about how to help novices learn to teach.[11] Through observations and interactions, they continually assessed what new teachers needed to learn. Through modeling, joint planning, co-teaching and coaching, they guided their learning. Doing the work of teaching together with the novice (e.g. planning lessons, assessing student work) provided opportunities to share practical knowledge and ways of knowing and to model a stance of inquiry toward teaching.

Researchers coined the term "educative" mentoring to distinguish the practice of these mentors from more conventional approaches that emphasize emotional support, occupational socialization and short term assistance. Mentors who engaged in "educative mentoring" displayed a special kind of bifocal vision. Attending to the immediate needs of their novice, they also kept their eye on long-term goals. Responding to here-and-now concerns, they also created learning opportunities that would move the novice's practice forward. Convinced that learning to teach is a long-term process, they helped their novice develop tools for learning in and from teaching (Dembele, 1995; Schwille & Wolf, 1997). In conceptualizing the process of mentored learning to teach, the researchers drew on socio-cultural theories which emphasize the social and situated nature of learning (Feiman-Nemser & Beasley, 1997; Feiman-Nemser, 1998).

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intellectual process or transition from "reflective student to reflective practitioner" (Goodlad, 1990, p. 219).

[11]

Making teaching the focus of inquiry and learning requires major changes in the way teachers relate to and talk with one another. Instead of a culture of politeness, teachers need a culture of inquiry. Instead of reliance of surface changes and easy answers, teachers need an openness to alternative explanations and possibilities and a willingness to experiment and study the results. Clearly this has implications for mentoring and other forms of professional development. It also underscores the broader goal of transforming the culture of teaching. U.S. mentor/novice pairs may create a sub-culture of inquiry and collaboration, but this may not be supported by the surrounding culture.[12] Few induction programs regard cultural transformation as a condition of their success. Research can help us understand how formal induction programs and practices interact with the context and culture of schools.

Induction as a Formal Program

These days induction generally refers to a formal program for beginning teachers. While most programs focus on the first year of teaching, some continue through the second or third year. Thinking of induction as a program suggests something formal and deliberate. It invokes such descriptive/analytic categories as goals, curriculum, organizational structure, staff, clients, funding, evaluation. Yet, deciding what counts as an induction program is not as straightforward as the term implies.

Some consider an informal "welcome" arranged by the school principal to be an induction program (Moskowitz & Stevens, 1997). Others think such activities do not constitute an induction program. In some contexts an induction program is a state-wide system of policies and mandates. In many contexts, induction programs are synonomous with formal mentoring. Despite the impression of definiteness which the term "program" conveys, the current induction

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scene is sufficiently varied that we need to clarify what induction "program" means on a case by case basis.

A Brief History

The idea of induction programs is not new. The Conant Report, published in 1963, contained several specific recommendations regarding support for beginning teachers. Since that time, there have been repeated calls for the development of programs to assist beginning teachers (e.g. Ryan, 1970; Howey & Bents, 1979). Still, prior to 1980, only one state, Florida, had mandated an induction program.

From the mid-eighties on, the scale of induction activity increased dramatically. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, over half of new public school teachers are participating in some type of formal induction programs during their first year of teaching and the rate is rising (NCES, 1996). A study by Recruiting New Teachers found formal programs of various kinds in most urban districts, especially the large ones, and a formally approved and implemented state-level support system for beginning teachers in twenty-seven states (Fideler & Haselkorn, 1999).[11] These programs were adopted and/or implemented in three "waves" (prior to 1986; 1986-1989, 1990-1996). The researchers deliberately use the "wave" metaphor because "all too many induction programs have foundered in the rough seas of budget cutting and legislative indifference" (p. 108). They predict that a fourth wave will build by the year 2000.

Responding to calls for greater professionalism and accountability, Florida mandated the Beginning Teacher Program in 1978. The program offered mentoring and assessment around a

[12] For a discussion of how this works in China, see Paine & Ma (1993).

[13] Of these twenty-seven, seventeen mandate induction across districts; seven provide state funds and ten do not. Only eight meet RNT's "quality standards" which include (a) required participation for all new teachers; (b) state funding; and (c) training for mentors.

set of generic competencies spelled out in the Florida Performance Measurement System and based on teacher effectiveness research. Seven states followed suit with programs that focused mainly on teacher evaluation and the creation of mentor roles for experienced teachers. Budget cuts often meant that state mandates went unfunded.

A host of national reports advocating internships and induction programs (e.g. Holmes Group, 1986; Carnegie Commission on Education and the Economy, 1986) inspired a second wave of induction activity in which the line between preservice preparation and induction were blurred. The school reform agenda gave impetus to a third wave. Concerns about teacher retention and quality assurance promoted states to create induction programs or bring back programs that had lapsed.[14] The RNT study explains the connection between new or renewed interest in induction and the movement to raise standards for student learning in the following way:

> When the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future (1996) declared that what matters most is recruiting, preparing and supporting excellent teachers, many state agencies responded by establishing induction programs or reviving programs that had languished during the 1980's. Policy makers saw the connection between raising expectations for student learning and providing conditions necessary for teachers' success. Thus induction programs *rode in on the heels of school reform* (Fideler & Haselkorn, 1999, italics added).

Defining Induction Programs

Comparing definitions of induction programs reveals a common core of agreement as well as changes in thinking about induction as a formal, programmatic intervention. In the first

major literature review on induction and internship programs, Leslie Huling-Austin (1990) defines induction as "a planned program intended to provide some systematic and sustained assistance specifically to beginning teachers for at least one school year" (p. 536). In their recent study of induction programs, Fideler and Haselkorn (1999) explain that induction programs "are designed to support, assist, train and assess teachers within the first three years of employment in public schools" (p. 13).

The first definition puts the emphasis squarely on assistance to beginning teachers in their first year on the job. Assistance remains the central focus of induction programs, often expressed in the vague but ubiquitous term "support." Support connotes a responsive stance toward beginning teachers whose problems, needs and concerns are the raison d'etre of mentor teachers and other "support providers." In her definition, Huling-Austin is deliberately trying to distinguish induction programs from two other activities -- orientation meetings for beginning teachers and formal evaluation programs. Orientation meetings may be helpful to new teachers but they do not meet the criteria of "systematic or sustained assistance." The separation of assistance from evaluation reflects a major theme and debate in the field.

The second definition adds two functions -- training and assessment. It also extends the time frame from one to three years and broadens the categories of clients to be served. The addition of training partly reflects the fact that some induction programs serve people entering teaching through alternative routes. In cases where new teachers lack formal professional preparation, the line between preservice training and induction support blurs. For example, some urban districts (e.g. Los Angeles, Chicago, San Diego) place untrained intern teachers in classrooms and then provide mentoring and professional coursework needed for licensure. In

[14] Twelve state-level programs were adopted/implemented during the third wave compared with seven during the second and eight during the first, suggesting increased interest on the part of states in beginning teacher support

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addition, induction programs offer training to new teachers in areas not adequately addressed during preservice preparation. District coordinators of urban induction programs report that they regularly have to make up for deficiencies in the backgrounds of new teachers, such as in the area of working with culturally diverse students.

The addition of assessment as a function of induction programs reflects a major tension or debate in the field. Many educators assume that support and assessment are incompatible functions which should not be carried out in the same program, and certainly not by the same person. The argument is that new teachers, eager to make a good impression, will be reluctant to share problems and ask for help if they are also being evaluated, especially by the same person. Furthermore, summative assessment is traditionally understood as an administrative function.

This position has been challenged by those who see formative assessment as an integral part of teacher development and by those who believe that induction programs should play both a "bridging" and a "gate-keeping" function (Sweeney, 1998). Regular formative assessment is a central feature of California's Beginning Teacher Support and Assessment program (BTSA) where it provides focus and direction in developing individualized professional development plans for beginning teachers. According to the program guide, Connecticut's Beginning Educator Support and Training program (BEST) combines "accountability through assessment for licensing purposes with extensive support and professional development" (1997, p. 1). Following the lead of Toledo, Rochester, Cincinnati and Columbus have built programs for beginning teachers around a "peer assistance and review" model in which consultant teachers provide assistance and also make recommendations about contract renewal.[15] As these variations

(Fideler & Haselkorn, 1999).

[15] Two thirds of the states studied by Recruiting New Teachers use some type of formative assessment. While most states require evaluation for licensure, only 7 include summative evaluation as part of the induction process (Fideler & Haselkorn, 1999).

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reveal, the tendency to dichotomize assistance and assessment which characterized much early thinking about new teacher induction has been modified.

Characteristics of "Quality" Programs

The similarities and differences reflected in the two definitions of induction programs also come through in efforts by researchers, professional associations and state education departments to identify the characteristics of good induction programs.[16] Over the past ten years or so, various frameworks and criteria have been put forward about what an effective induction program should be like. Some derive from empirical studies, others reflect the thinking of professionals about "best practice." Together these formulations provide additional insights into changing concepts of what a quality induction program *should* be like.

Many of the frameworks advocate a "developmental" stance toward beginning teachers even if they do not use the term. They recommend that programs regard novices as learners rather than accomplished, experienced professionals. They assume that learning to teach unfolds over time in unique ways and requires highly individualized support geared to the new teacher's changing needs. According to the RNT report (Fideler & Haselkorn, 1999), a developmental process requires a multi-year program.

A second common requirement is a supportive context. Various frameworks acknowledge that the settings where new teachers work have an important influence on their success. Some frameworks call for knowledgable and supportive administrators. Several acknowledge the importance of appropriate placements (e.g. fewer classes to prepare for, classes that match the new teacher's background, limited extracurricular assignments). A few highlight

[16] The RITE framework was developed by researchers from the R&D Center for Research on Teacher Education at the University of Texas at Austin (Griffin, 1986). Another data-based set of recommendations comes from Recruiting New Teachers (Fideler & Haselkorn, 1999). One of the earliest formulations was developed by the Association of Teacher Educators (Brooks, 1987). More recently the National Association of State Boards of

the role of a collaborative school culture which encourages teachers to work together on problems of practice (Moskowitz & Stevens, 1997).

Mentoring is by far the most common induction practice in the U.S. and all frameworks recommend a strong mentoring component which usually means careful selection, training and support of mentor teachers. The California Standards for Quality and Effectiveness of Beginning Teacher Support and Assessment programs (BTSA, 1997) call for support providers to have access to professional development, including training in understanding the needs and development of beginning teachers and in effective practices of support. The standards also state that support providers need time to meet with one another and a manageable case load to maximize their possibilities of success. Recognizing the lack of consensus about the roles and functions of mentors and the uneven quality of mentoring, the National Association of State Boards of Education (NASBE, 1998) emphasizes mentor accountability. They recommend that "the selection criteria, roles and functions of mentors, defined in terms of standards, should be clearly articulated, both to mentors and to beginning teachers, and mechanisms should be in place to ensure that mentors meet these standards" (p. 32).

Finally most frameworks recognize that induction programs cannot succeed without adequate personnel and fiscal resources. They recommend collaboration among school districts, institutions of higher education and state education departments. They call for ongoing program evaluation and modification. California's program standards provide one specific model of resource allocation (BTSA, 1997). They stipulate a half-time director for programs of fifty teachers and a full-time director for programs of over one hundred teachers. They also stipulate $5000 per new teacher with $3000 coming from the state and $2000 from the district.

Education (1997B) put forward a set of recommendations for induction programs. Probably the most elaborate set of program standards comes from the state of California (BTSA, 1997).

Despite these commonalities, the frameworks also reflect divergent views about what makes a good induction program. As we have already noted, one area of debate concerns the relationship between support and assessment. Though all induction programs claim to offer "support" to beginning teachers, there is no consensus about what kind of support will help new teachers develop effective teaching practices. Nor is there agreement about how assessment figures into that support. Three general combinations are possible: (1) support separated from assessment; (2) support integrated with formative assessment; (3) support integrated with both formative and summative evaluation. Early recommendations (e.g. Brooks, 1987) insist that assistance and assessment be kept separate; however, as the California standards indicate, some programs are recognizing the necessary relationship between assessment and support. Still questions about the meaning of support and the function of assessment remain. Responsibility for summative assessment may come from outside assessors or may be handled by the same person responsible for assistance.

A second issue has to do with the appropriate source(s) of support for beginning teachers. In the U.S., mentoring and induction are virtually synonomous (Fideler & Haselkorn, 1999). A study of induction programs in some Pacific Rim countries offers a different perspective by recommending that induction become an informal, school-wide responsibility. According to the APEC study, the most successful programs "downplay" the role of assessment but do not eliminate it as a goal. Rather informal assessments by fellow teachers are so frequent that beginning teachers get used to having their teaching observed and receiving feedback. Consequently when more formal assessment for purposes of certification or licensing occurs, new teachers do not feel threatened (Moskowitz & Stevens, 1997).

The idea of induction as a school-wide reponsibility reinforced by a collaborative

teaching culture is supported by researchers like Little (1982), Rosenholtz (1989) and Smylie (1995) who found that successful schools were characterized by frequent and continuous interaction among all teachers on a faculty. Beginning teachers may also provide collegial support to one another

Programmatic Dilemmas or Tensions

Assistance vs. assessment is not the only dilemma or tension that we uncovered in our review of the induction literature. At least two more deserve attention. One concerns the tension between an individualistic and a collective (some might say "professional") orientation toward teaching and teacher learning. Another concerns the potential incompatibility between two goals for induction programs--teacher retention and quality control.

Individualistic vs. collective orientations. The individualistic orientation manifests itself in the working conditions and culture that surround many beginning teachers. It also may be reflected in the orientation and practice of mentor teachers and in the tendency of induction program to adopt an individual psychological model in thinking about beginning teachers and their "needs."

Teaching in the U.S. is a highly personal, often private activity. Teachers work alone in their classroom, out of sight of other colleagues, protected by norms of autonomy and privacy. Making decisions for their own students is a valued aspect of teachers' work (Lortie, 1975; Feiman-Nemser & Floden, 1986). Many teachers are reluctant to share problems with a colleague or ask for help, believing that good teachers work things out on their own. Teachers may deliberately limit their interactions with colleagues in order to preserve their autonomy. Besides cutting off opportunities for collegial influence and learning, these patterns of interaction limit learning and work against the possibility of shared standards. In many schools this is the culture

into which beginning teachers are being inducted.

Dyadic, one-on-one mentoring, the favored strategy of beginning teacher induction, may inadventently reinforce the individualism and privacy of teaching. There is evidence that some mentors feel uneasy about the expectation that they are supposed to influence or direct novices' practice (Bird, 1986; Little, 1987; Smylie & Denny, 1989; Shulman & Colbert, 1987; Feiman-Nemser & Parker, 1993). This could easily lead to patterns of interaction which encourage individual preference and personal style on the part of the novice. If mentors do not represent shared standards of practice or promote a sense of collective responsibility for student learning, novices may not come to see themselves as part of a broader collectivity working toward improved teaching and learning for all students. If mentors pull back as soon as novices begin to feel more comfortable with their teaching situation, they may reinforce the message, already widespread, that learning to teach is basically something you do on your own with a little advice on the side.

The kind of teaching required by new standards for student learning will take hard work and serious learning on the part of teachers. This is not something easily mastered alone. Mentoring based on joint work and assisted performance could promote the value of learning with and from colleagues. There is some evidence that collaborative schools where teachers work together on problems of practice are productive settings for student learning and teachers participating in networks, study groups and other collaborative professional development projects claim that discussion and shared problem solving are compelling and essential to their learning (see Wilson & Berne, in press, for a review).

As induction is increasingly tied to professional standards and performance assessments, will mentors and novices come to see teaching more as a shared, public practice or will induction

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practices continue to promote individualism and privacy? How does this tension play out in induction programs which emphasize formative assessment and individualized professional development plans? Studying such arrangements can shed light on this core induction dilemma.

Retention vs quality. In the face of a serious teacher shortage, especially in certain regions of the country, how can we recruit and retain enough new teachers to meet the need while also insuring a quality teaching force? Both retention and quality control are explicit goals of beginning teacher induction programs, yet they may represent competing goods.

While few induction programs have collected or reported data on this issue (Huling-Austin, 1990; Gold, 1996; Fideler & Haselkorn, forthcoming), the limited available evidence suggests that some induction programs are having the desired effect on reducing teacher attrition. A majority of the eighty-nine urban induction programs responding to the RNT survey achieved enhanced retention rates compared with the average attrition rates for teachers in comparable urban settings (Fideler & Haselkorn, 1999). "Improved retention" among participating beginning teachers is one of three key findings in a four year evaluation of the California New Teacher Program, established in 1988 as a pilot study of alternative methods to support and assess first and second year teachers.[17] This was apparently true for minority teachers and those serving urban, rural and otherwise difficult to staff settings. A handful of smaller studies cited in the literature report a similar outcomes (see Huling-Austin, 1990).

As our nation faces an impending teacher shortage (200,000 teachers annually over the next decade), we need to know more about the role of induction programs in decreasing teacher turnover and increasing teacher retention. At the same time, we should not mistake increased retention of new teachers with enhanced quality in teaching. We still have to determine whether

the best teachers are being retained and whether those who stay in teaching are developing sound teaching practices. As states adopt teaching standards and tie participation in induction programs to decisions about licensure, we also need to understand how these quality control measures play out. How do external standards influence the curriculum of induction and the pedagogy of mentoring? How do they affect the teaching practice of beginning teachers and their students' learning?

A serious teacher shortage also places pressure on states and districts to open up teaching to people without professional preparation and grant them emergency certificates. The boundary between "training and transition" blurs when induction programs serve such teachers (Huling-Austin, 1992). Some believe that such moves undermine the idea of professional standards and affect the quality of the teaching force; others see new sources of teachers as a vehicle for enriching the teaching population. How will states and districts reconcile the seemingly contradictory goals of retention and quality control and what role will induction programs play in the process? This is another critical area where research is needed.

Summary

Induction is a complex concept and an equally complex and varied arena of educational activity. As a concept, induction can be defined as a phase in learning to teach, a process of enculturation, or a formal program for the support, development and assessment of beginning teachers. Fideler and Haselkorn (1999) characterize the induction landscape as a "crazy quilt" of activity because of the enormous variation in mandates and program guidelines. Some of the variation is intentional, as in the case of California which deliberately piloted different models. More often it results from inconsistencies of funding and from the decentralized nature of state-

[17] The CNTP served over 3000 beginning teachers in 37 local and regional sites. Evaluators report that attrition was reduced by more than 2/3's for participating teachers, "virtually eliminating the problem of beginning teachers

initiated programming. Beyond reliance on mentor teachers as the favored strategy of support, few generalizations are possible.

Multiple reform agendas come together around beginning teacher induction. Restructing schools, reforming teacher preparation, developing new teaching standards and performance assessments, rethinking professional development--all these initiatives have important implications for the preparation, induction and licensure of beginning teachers. Increasingly, educators and policy makers have come to recognizer the critical place of beginning teacher induction as part of a broad, systemic reform initiative designed to improve the quality of teaching.

At the same time, we know little about the nature, quality and impact of induction experiences for those being served. Nor do we know how induction policies and practices relate to wider reform efforts and professional development initiatives. Survey and self-report data can document general trends, but more fine-grained analyses are needed to understand where these trends come from, what they mean to those involved, how they unfold. We need studies that examine the learning opportunities available to beginning teachers in places that take induction seriously, that trace the impact of induction programs and practices on beginning teachers and their students, that analyze the role of district and state level policies in supporting or constraining quality programs and practices. Understanding how thoughtful induction programs address key dilemmas, conceptualize the curriculum of induction, and promote standards-based teaching and learning can broaden our thinking and deepen our understanding of induction, the Janus-figure of educational reform.

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quitting due to isolation, frustration, or burnout" (Bartell & Ownby, 1994, p. 5).

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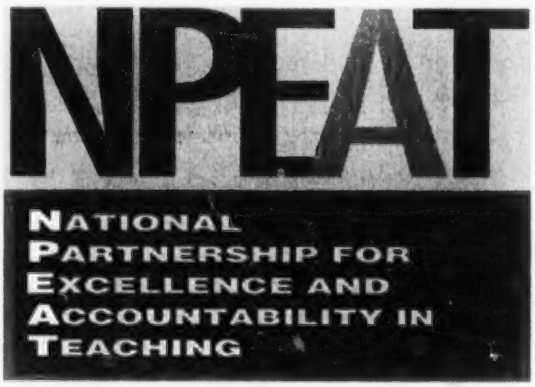

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